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TOP

(U) CHINA: THE POLITICAL PECKING ORDER OF  
TOP LEADERS<sup>1/</sup>

Summary

China remains a hierarchical society even after almost a decade of Deng Xiaoping's reforms and more than 30 years of communist rule. To understand the role, tactics, and efficacy of both individuals and organizations, it is helpful--and often essential--to know their positions in the various hierarchies. Comparison across systems is difficult for outsiders, but insiders "know" how to rank persons from different systems. Personal stature, political power, and organizational affiliation interact in a complex manner to determine the position of any individual within the system. These factors, combined with recognized expertise or responsibility for certain substantive matters, determine who has authority to speak on or decide certain issues.

Politically attuned Chinese are well aware of the various hierarchies and relative ranks of those with whom they interact. Organizations are subject to a rank order, as are individuals within organizations (see Appendices 1 and 2). Different classification schemes are used for party, government, and military cadres; workers; and intellectuals. Every person in one of these systems is assigned a specific rank or grade (see Appendices 3, 4, and 5).

Cadre rank, like prestige, for the most part accrues to individuals rather than offices,

1/ (U) Rankings in this paper are based on an examination of the official name lists published in conjunction with important events and ceremonial occasions. The analysis reflects leadership changes made since the September 1985 party conference.

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although there appear to be ceilings beyond which one cannot rise in rank without an accompanying substantive promotion. Nevertheless, cadre rank and position are not automatically linked; a substantive promotion can occur without a corresponding change in cadre rank. Retirement from office--even through purge--however, does not usually occasion a reduction in cadre rank for purposes of pay and perquisites.

The criteria for judging the relative status of cadres appear to be similar to those used by many military establishments: rank, date of rank, date of service. Thus, Secretariat members who are concurrent members of the Politburo outrank other Secretariat members. Those promoted to full membership from alternate status outrank those promoted from nonmembership. Other things being equal, those who joined the Central Committee first outrank those who joined later. If both joined the Central Committee at the same time, the one who joined the party first has the higher rank.

At the same time, the continued centrality of the danwei (work unit) to the individual's position in society means that one's rank in the hierarchy--as distinct from one's prestige or remuneration--is heavily dependent on organizational affiliation. An individual who gives up affiliation with an organization loses his or her niche in society along with many of the benefits--both tangible and intangible--that go along with membership. This helps explain why elderly Chinese cadre are so reluctant to retire.

Some organizations are deliberative in nature, with all members nominally, if not actually, on an equal footing. As a result, their members are usually listed in the order of the number of brush strokes in their name--the Chinese equivalent of alphabetical order. The Politburo and the standing committees of most organizations--although not the Politburo Standing Committee--fall into this category.

Other organizations are executive or administrative in nature, and their leaders are usually listed in a rank order, or order of "succession to the chair." The Politburo Standing Committee falls into this category because its members chair meetings of the Politburo. The Secretariat and State Council, as administrative organs, also fall into this category. Lists of vice chairmen--for example, of the National People's Congress or Chinese People's Consultative Conference--are also rank ordered because their members may succeed to the chair.

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### Introduction

The era has almost passed when Pekingologists scrutinize the rostrum at Tiananmen for signals about who has fallen from political grace and who is on the rise. Chinese politics have become more regularized and predictable, although unusual appearances--e.g., Chen Yun's high visibility during Soviet First Deputy Premier Arhipov's December 1984 visit to China--or absences--e.g., Wei Guoqing's prolonged absence from public view before his retirement from the Politburo in September 1985--often still indicate the standing of top leaders or their positions on certain issues.

As in any society, people are ranked within an organization according to the positions they hold: chairmen outrank vice chairmen, directors outrank deputy directors. With the institution of many personnel system and organizational reforms under Deng Xiaoping, promotion at relatively low levels--e.g., vice minister of the State Council--now usually depends on both expertise and political prestige. Promotions to top level positions, including most of those addressed in this paper, however, appear to be much more dependent on political stature and party seniority.

Chinese organizations also have rather clearly defined ranks, as shown by the order in which officials of various organs appear in public. Among officials of the highest party, state, and military organs in the People's Republic of China, the order appears to be roughly as follows:

- members of the Politburo Standing Committee;
- the PRC President;
- the chairmen of the National People's Congress Standing Committee and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference;
- the vice chairmen of the Central Military Commission;
- the PRC Vice President;
- members and alternates of the Politburo;
- members and alternates of the Secretariat;
- vice chairmen and Standing Committee members of the Central Advisory Commission;

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--top officials of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission;  
--vice chairmen of the National People's Congress Standing Committee;  
--State Councilors of the State Council;  
--deputy secretaries general of the Central Military Commission and top judicial officials;  
--vice chairmen of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Many other high-ranking officials normally fall below the threshold for mention in name lists published by the Chinese at important functions. These officials include standing committee members of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, chairmen and vice chairmen of the committees of the National People's Congress, ministers and vice ministers of the commissions and ministries of the State Council, and heads of military services. In addition, many regional and local officials--including military region commanders and commissars, fleet and air region commanders, provincial party secretaries, and governors--also wield considerable authority and command substantial prestige, but almost all fall below the threshold of national mention.

Among these lower ranking bodies too, however, there is often an explicit or implicit rank order. The ministries and commissions of the State Council, for example, although nominally equal, are listed by the Chinese in an order that appears to reflect protocol status--at least among the first eight or so organs--as well as groupings according to functional xitong (systems) (see Appendix 2). Provinces and military regions may have a similar implied rank; indeed, it seems likely that high-level positions in the larger, wealthier, and more sensitive provinces and military regions require officials of a higher cadre rank and greater prestige.

#### The "Party Center"--The Politburo Standing Committee

The Fifth Plenum of the 12th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in September 1985 elevated a number of new members to the Politburo and Secretariat. The plenum's communique listed the Politburo's Standing Committee (PBSC) members--minus the retiring Ye Jianying--in the order in which they have been listed since 1982: Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, and Chen Yun. This order does not accurately reflect the exact power relationships among the members. In this respect, Deng Xiaoping should certainly be listed first. The order, however, does represent the party's protocol order, generally followed when

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the top five party leaders appear together, as, for example, when they cast ballots at a party function.

The real power relationships among the PBSC are murky, representing a combination of personal prestige, seniority, factional alignments, organizational affiliation, the issues involved, and the level of commitment each leader has on a particular issue. Thus, for example, on issues of economic policy or party discipline, Chen Yun's actual influence is probably not adequately reflected by his fifth ranking in the PBSC. Similarly, Zhao Ziyang, on matters of government administration, and Hu Yaobang, on party administration, probably have considerable influence in shaping PBSC debates and their outcomes.

#### Party and State Elders

Consistently ranking just below the five members of the PBSC are a handful of party elders, including Peng Zhen and Deng Yingchao and, less consistently, Marshals Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen. It is unclear whether the high ranking of Peng and Mme. Deng stems from their great prestige and party seniority--both are rumored to be ex officio members of the PBSC--or from their concurrent high state posts--chairpersons of the National People's Congress Standing Committee (Peng) and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (Deng). At this exalted level of the political hierarchy, however, the two are almost indistinguishable. Since the death of Mao Zedong, the chairmanship of the NPC and CPPCC has always gone to someone at or near PBSC status; Ye Jianying formerly headed the NPC and Deng Xiaoping the CPPCC. Successors to Peng Zhen and Deng Yingchao are likely to come from the same top stratum of the party leadership and probably will continue to be listed immediately after the PBSC.

#### Central Military Commission Vice Chairmen

Evidence is scanty on the relative rankings of Marshals Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen, both of whom retired from the Politburo in September 1985 but retained their vice chairmanships of the Central Military Commission. On the few occasions since then when their names have been listed with those of other top leaders, they have immediately followed the PBSC, Peng Zhen, and Deng Yingchao. All of their appearances except one have been at military-related functions, suggesting that their high ranking in those lists is due to their military position rather than their high party stature. The deduction that CMC vice chairmen rank immediately after the PBSC and the chairpersons of the NPC and CPPCC is strengthened by Nie Rongzhen's position on the list of high officials who sent condolences on the death of writer Ding Ling.

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PRC Vice President

In name lists of attendees at major functions, PRC Vice President Ulanhu is listed after the PBSC, Peng Zhen, and Deng Yingchao. President Li Xiannian, of course, is listed according to his rank as a member of the PBSC. Ulanhu, a long-time party member and China's highest ranking member of a minority nationality, retired from the Politburo in September 1985. Ulanhu's successor is likely also to come from the Politburo--although probably not from among its most senior members.

The Politburo

Since the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, members of the Politburo have been listed by the number of brush strokes in the surname. This practice seems intended to highlight the generalist and "collective" nature of Politburo leadership under Deng. Since the reestablishment of the Secretariat in 1980, members of the Politburo--with a few exceptions--appear not to have had clear-cut sectoral responsibilities. Members of the Secretariat, by contrast, hold functional portfolios similar to those of Vice Premiers and most State Councilors.

In reality, however, there is a clear pecking order within the Politburo that is sometimes reflected in lists of appearances. After Standing Committee members come Peng Zhen, Mme. Deng Yingchao, and a few of the most senior members--some of whom have been rumored as candidates for Standing Committee membership--including Wan Li, Xi Zhongxun, and Yang Shangkun. Their high ranking stems from a combination of party seniority, great prestige, and good relations with Deng Xiaoping. Politburo members with concurrent seats on the Secretariat appear to rank next, followed by other full members.

Consistent with the practice begun at the 1982 12th Party Congress, alternate members of the Politburo--like alternate members of the Central Committee--are rank ordered. Central Committee alternates are listed according to the number of votes they received in balloting for positions on the Central Committee and succeed to full membership in order as vacancies occur.

The logic behind the ranking of the two current Politburo alternates is not obvious--Qin Jiwei ahead of Mme. Chen Muhsa. This may represent the number of votes each attained in Politburo elections, but there is no evidence of such a procedure. It is clear, however, that alternate Politburo members do not necessarily succeed to vacancies created by the departure of full members. When Liao Chengzhi died in 1983, for example, he was not replaced from among the alternates. Similarly, alternate members of the Secretariat--when there are such--do not automatically succeed to

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full membership. No one replaced Yang Yong after his death in 1981 until the election of new Secretariat members in 1982.

It is also unclear exactly what privileges and responsibilities accrue to those with alternate Politburo status. Conventional wisdom suggests that full status confers a "vote" in Politburo deliberations while alternate status does not. It is not at all clear, however, that the Politburo actually conducts votes. Moreover, available evidence suggests that a significant number of senior leaders--including Central Advisory Commission vice chairmen and top leaders of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission--routinely attend Politburo meetings. It is not clear whether their status at such meetings differs from that of alternate members.

#### The Secretariat

Unlike the Politburo list, the official list of the Secretariat membership issued at the September 1985 Fifth Plenum reflects rank order and seniority. The Secretariat operates on a "responsibility system" under which members oversee specific accounts or portfolios. Moreover, because the Secretariat is an executive or administrative agency, a rank order, or order of succession to the chair, is necessary so that regular business can be conducted in the absence of the top-ranked officer. Thus, in the State Council, when Premier Zhao Ziyang is absent, Wan Li serves as Acting Premier. Yao Yilin, the next ranking Vice Premier, would fill in if both Zhao and Wan were absent. Similarly, in the Politburo, the General Secretary chairs meetings. In his absence, PBSC members would take the chair according to rank order.

The official list of Secretariat members is headed, of course, by General Secretary (and PBSC member) Hu Yaobang. After Hu are listed Hu Qili, Wan Li, Yu Qiuli, Qiao Shi, Tian Jiyun, Li Peng, Chen Pixian, Deng Liqun, Hao Jianxiu, and Wang Zhaoguo. According to the above principle of succeeding to the chair, Hu Qili is listed in second place because he is Hu Yaobang's executive officer. As the Secretariat's No. 2 officer, he may begin to act as General Secretary in Hu Yaobang's absence. It should be noted, however, that Zhao Ziyang attends most meetings even though he is not a member of the Secretariat and reportedly chairs meetings in Hu Yaobang's absence. Hu Qili also is widely touted as a successor to the post of General Secretary and a candidate for membership on the Politburo Standing Committee. While Hu Qili often takes a visible role in certain sectors--such as policy toward intellectuals--he appears to be a Secretariat generalist without primary responsibility for specific accounts.

Following Hu Qili are the two concurrent Politburo members who retained both their Secretariat and Politburo seats in the

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September 1985 reshuffle: Wan Li and Yu Qiuli. They may be listed in stroke order--Wan's name having three strokes and Yu's seven--but the order more likely reflects their ranking. Listed after Wan and Yu are the three members of the Secretariat who joined the Politburo in September 1985: Qiao Shi, Tian Jiyun, and Li Peng. The order in which they are listed at first seems anomalous, the reverse of the intuitively expected ranking and not in stroke order.

This order, however, may reflect one of two principles. First, Qiao was promoted to full membership in the Secretariat from alternate status while both Tian and Li joined de novo in September 1985. Second, Qiao joined the party in 1940, while both Tian and Li joined in 1945. On both criteria, Qiao should be listed ahead of Tian and Li by virtue of seniority. Tian is listed ahead of Li probably not for either political ranking or seniority reasons--they appear to have roughly equal claims on both accounts--but in stroke order.

Following the three new concurrent Politburo and Secretariat members are the two retained Secretariat members who are not members of the Politburo: Chen Pixian and Deng Liqun. Clearly this is not stroke order, because "Chen" has seven strokes while "Deng" has only four. Chen Pixian, however, joined the party in 1931 and the Central Committee in 1977, whereas Deng Liqun joined the party in 1936 and the Central Committee in 1982. Following the two retained Secretariat members are Hao Jianxiu--promoted from alternate status--and Wang Zhaoguo--promoted from nonmembership.

Despite this internal ranking within the Secretariat, when Politburo and Secretariat members appear together, the order in which an individual is listed is determined by his/her highest ranking position. Thus, Hu Qili, for example, is listed with other Politburo members--in stroke order--ahead of his Secretariat colleagues. After all Politburo members have been named, remaining Secretariat members are listed in rank/seniority order.

The protocol order of the Secretariat, as described above, clearly does not prejudice future promotion. Hu Qili, only appointed to the Politburo in September 1985, was promoted within the Secretariat ahead of five of his seniors. Similarly, Qiao Shi, Tian Jiyun, and Li Peng all jumped past Chen Pixian and Deng Liqun by joining the Politburo as well as the Secretariat. In the future, moreover, Li Peng or Tian Jiyun may jump past several colleagues if one eventually succeeds Zhao Ziyang as Premier, and Hu Qili may move rapidly past all of his colleagues to join the PBSC.

#### Central Advisory Commission

The few available lists of appearances of top officials since the September 1985 Fifth Plenum consistently rank CAC vice

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chairmen immediately after Politburo and Secretariat members. The three vice chairmen, however, are not listed in either stroke order or the order of their rank within the CAC. Indeed, the logic behind their usual order remains unclear. Bo Yibo is the CAC's permanent vice chairman and executive officer. In lists of appearances, however, he is preceded by Wang Zhen, who retired from the Politburo in September 1985. Song Renqiong, the third vice chairman and another recently retired Politburo member, is listed last. Available data do not account for this order.

According to the criterion of previous Politburo membership, both Wang and Song should outrank Bo. Wang and Song both retired from the Politburo in September 1985. Song had been a Politburo alternate briefly during 1966-67, receiving full membership in 1982. Wang held continuous full Politburo membership from 1978 to 1985. Bo was not elevated to the Politburo after the Cultural Revolution but had served as an alternate from 1956 until he was purged in 1967.

Central Committee seniority also fails to explain the order of the three CAC vice chairmen. Wang and Song first became alternates in 1945 at the same time that Bo attained full Central Committee membership. Thus, according to this criterion, Bo should outrank both Wang and Song. Even tenure in the party apparently fails to explain the order. Bo reportedly joined the party in 1925, Song in 1926, and Wang in 1927. It is possible that the list reflects the cadre rank of the three vice chairmen, but no evidence exists to support this view. Despite these uncertainties, the existing rank order--Wang, Bo, and Song--makes sense given their prestige and recent activities.

The three CAC vice chairmen are followed by the remaining 17 members of the CAC Standing Committee. They are listed in stroke order, reflecting their equal status in a deliberative, rather than administrative, body.

#### Central Discipline Inspection Commission

CDIC First Secretary Chen Yun is, of course, listed at the top of the leadership in his capacity as a member of the PBSC. His second-in-command, Wang Heshou, however, ranks immediately after Standing Committee members of the CAC, followed by the Commission's permanent secretary--its third-ranking officer--Han Guang. The CDIC Standing Committee and CDIC members are not normally of high enough rank to be named in available lists of the top leadership. Their relatively low ranking appears to have restricted the CDIC's ability to investigate and expose wrongdoing at the highest levels, although CDIC inspection teams have been instrumental in exposing many cases in the provinces and at lower bureaucratic levels in Beijing.

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National People's Congress Standing Committee Vice Chairmen

All available lists of appearances since September 1985 name immediately after the top officials of the CDIC those vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee who have not already been listed. They too are listed in rank order because they succeed to the chair of the NPC Standing Committee in the absence of Chairman Peng Zhen. Their rank order appears to be: (Chen Pixian),<sup>2/</sup> Wei Guoqing, (Geng Biao), Hu Juewen, Xu Deheng, Peng Chong, Wang Renzhong, Zhu Xuefan, Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain, Seypidin Aizezi, Zhou Gucheng, Yan Jici, Rong Yiren, Ye Fei, Liao Hansheng, Han Xianchu, and Huang Hua. Wang Hanbin, the NPC Standing Committee's secretary general, is apparently not concurrently a vice chairman. Nevertheless, his status would place him near the top of the group.

The rank order of NPC Standing Committee vice chairmen does not appear to reflect their actual political clout. Chen Pixian, who is also a member of the Secretariat, clearly is the most powerful political figure in the NPC after Peng Zhen. Wei Guoqing, however, probably lost almost all political influence along with his Politburo seat. His retention as an NPC vice chairman is consistent with Deng Xiaoping's strategy of leaving defeated opponents in prestigious, if powerless, positions. Similarly, Gen. Xu Shiyou was retired from the Politburo to a vice chairmanship of the Central Advisory Commission in 1982, despite his record of opposing Deng on a number of important issues.

State Councilors

Those State Councilors who have not already been named--i.e., those who are not on the Politburo or Secretariat--rank lower than NPC Standing Committee vice chairmen in the political order. They, too, appear to be rank ordered on the basis of seniority as State Councilor or Vice Premier: Gu Mu (appointed Vice Premier in 1975; State Councilor, 1982); Kang Shien (appointed Vice Premier in 1975; State Councilor, 1982); Zhang Jingfu (appointed State Councilor in May 1982); Zhang Aiping (appointed Vice Premier in 1980; State Councilor, November 1982); Wang Bingqian (appointed State Councilor in June 1983); and Song Ping (appointed State Councilor in June 1983). Zhang Jingfu and Zhang Aiping may be listed in stroke order, or the operative criterion may be appointment as State Councilor rather than previous service as Vice

<sup>2/</sup> (U) Parentheses indicate a person who, in a list of leaders from more than one organization, would be listed by virtue of a higher ranking position. In a list of leaders from only one organization, he/she would be listed as indicated in parentheses.

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Premier. Wang and Song, with equal seniority as State Councilors, appear to be listed in stroke order.

#### Central Military Commission Deputy Secretaries General

Vice chairmen of the Central Military Commission appear to rank immediately after the PBSC, NPC chairman, and CPPCC chairman (see p. 3). Yang Shangkun--CMC permanent vice chairman and secretary general--however, is usually listed with the Politburo. Similarly, Yu Qiuli--a CMC deputy secretary general and director of the General Political Department--and Yang Dezhi--a CMC deputy secretary general and PLA chief of staff--are listed with the Politburo. Defense Minister Zhang Aiping is ranked according to his position as State Councilor. As a result, only General Logistics Department Director Hong Xuezhi--a concurrent deputy secretary general of the CMC--is listed in this category.

#### Top Judicial Officials

Following the remaining CMC deputy secretary general, Hong Xuezhi, are President of the Supreme People's Court Zheng Tianxiang and Procurator General Yang Yichen. Both are considered top national officials, appointed by the full NPC and more or less on a par with the NPC Standing Committee chairman, the PRC President and Vice President, and the Premier. They outrank heads of state commissions and ministries, who generally fall below individual listing except at functions directly under their purview.

#### Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Vice Chairmen

In available lists, the last group of names are those among the 28 vice chairmen of the CPPCC who have not already appeared. The conference chairperson, Mme. Deng Yingchao, routinely follows the PBSC and NPC Chairman, Peng Zhen. Like the NPC Standing Committee vice chairmen, they are listed in rank order, or the order of succession to the chair.

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Appendix 1

Apparent Rank Order of the Top  
101 Chinese Political Leaders

Politburo Standing Committee (rank ordered)

Hu Yaobang  
Deng Xiaoping  
Zhao Ziyang  
Li Xiannian  
Chen Yun

Chairman, National People's Congress Standing Committee

Peng Zhen

Chairman, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

Deng Yingchao

Vice Chairmen, Central Military Commission (rank ordered)

Xu Xiangqian  
Nie Rongzhen

PRC Vice President

Ulanhu

Politburo Members (stroke ordered)

Wan Li	Wu Xueqian
Xi Zhongxun	Yu Qiuli
Fang Yi	(Chen Yun)
(Deng Xiaoping) 1/	(Zhao Ziyang)
Tian Jiyun	Hu Qiaomu
Qiao Shi	Hu Qili
Li Peng	(Hu Yaobang)
(Li Xiannian)	Yao Yilin
Yang Dezhi	Ni Zhifu
Yang Shangkun	(Peng Zhen)

1/ (U) Parentheses indicate a person who, in a list of leaders from more than one organization, would be listed by virtue of a higher ranking position. In a list of leaders from only one organization, he/she would be listed as indicated in parentheses.

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Appendix 1 (cont'd)

Politburo Alternates (rank ordered)

Qin Jiwei  
Chen Muhua

Secretariat

(Hu Yaobang)	(Li Peng)
(Hu Qili)	Chen Pixian
(Wan Li)	Deng Liqun
(Yu Quili)	Hao Jianxiu
(Qiao Shi)	Wang Zhaoguo
(Tian Jiyun)	

Vice Chairmen, Central Advisory Commission (rank ordered?)

Wang Zhen  
Bo Yibo  
Song Renqiong

Members, Central Advisory Commission Standing Committee  
(stroke ordered)

Wang Ping	Lu Dingyi
Wang Shoudao	Chen Xilian
Wu Xiuquan	Duan Junyi
Liu Lantao	Geng Biao
Jiang Hua	Ji Pengfei
Li Yimang	Huang Zhen
Li Desheng	Huang Huoqing
Xiao Ke	Cheng Zihua
Song Shilun	

Leading Officials, Central Discipline Inspection Commission  
(rank ordered)

(First Secretary Chen Yun)  
Second Secretary Wang Heshou  
Permanent Secretary Han Guang

Vice Chairmen, National People's Congress Standing Committee  
(rank ordered)

(Chen Pixian)	Hu Juewen
Wei Guoqing	Xu Deheng
(Geng Biao)	Peng Chong

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Appendix 1 (cont'd)

Vice Chairmen, National People's Congress Standing Committee  
(cont'd)

Wang Renzhong	Yan Jici
Zhu Xuefan	Rong Yiren
Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme	Ye Fei
Baingen Erdini Qiogyi	Liao Hansheng
Gyaincain	Han Xianchu
Seypidin Aizezi	Huang Hua
Zhou Gucheng	

Secretary General Wang Hanbin

Vice Premiers and State Councilors (rank ordered)

(Wan Li)	(Chen Muhua)
(Yao Yilin)	(Ji Pengfei)
(Li Peng)	Zhang Jingfu
(Tian Jiyun)	Zhang Aiping
(Fang Yi)	(Wu Xueqian)
Gu Mu	Wang Bingqian
Kang Shien	Song Ping

Deputy Secretaries General, Central Military Commission

(Yu Qiuli)	(Zhang Aiping)
(Yang Dezhi)	Hong Xuezhi

President, Supreme People's Court

Zheng Tianxiang

Procurator General of the PRC

Yang Yichen

Vice Chairmen, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference  
(rank ordered)

Yang Jingren (Liu Lantao)	Hu Ziang
Lu Dingyi (Cheng Zihua)	Qian Changzhao
Kang Keqing	Dong Qiwu
Ji Fang	Tao Zhiyue
Zhuang Xiquan	Yang Chengwu
Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai	Chen Zaidao
	Lu Zhengcao
	Zhou Peiyuan

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Appendix 1 (cont'd)

Vice Chairmen, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference  
(cont'd)

Burhan Shahidi	Ye Shengtao
Miao Yuntai	Qu Wu
Wang Guangying	Ba Jin
Deng Zhaoxiang	Liu Jingji
Fei Xiaotong	Ma Wenrui
Zhao Puchu	Mao Yisheng

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Appendix 2

Official Listing of State Council Organs  
(March 1986)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Ministry of National Defense  
State Planning Commission  
State Economic Commission  
State Commission for Restructuring the Economic System  
State Education Commission  
State Science and Technology Commission  
State National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry  
Commission  
State Nationalities Affairs Commission  
Ministry of Public Security  
Ministry of State Security  
Ministry of Civil Affairs  
Ministry of Justice  
Ministry of Finance  
State Auditing Administration  
People's Bank of China  
Ministry of Commerce  
Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade  
Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fisheries  
Ministry of Forestry  
Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power  
Ministry of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental  
Protection  
Ministry of Geology and Mineral Resources  
Ministry of Metallurgical Industry  
Ministry of Machine Building  
Ministry of Nuclear Industry  
Ministry of Aeronautics Industry  
Ministry of Electronics Industry  
Ministry of Ordnance Industry  
Ministry of Astronautics Industry  
Ministry of Coal Industry  
Ministry of Petroleum Industry  
Ministry of Chemical Industry  
Ministry of Textile Industry  
Ministry of Light Industry  
Ministry of Railways  
Ministry of Communications  
Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications  
Ministry of Labor and Personnel  
Ministry of Culture

Source: Ban Yue Tan, No. 18, September 25, 1985.

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Appendix 2 (cont'd)

Xinhua News Agency  
Ministry of Radio, Television, and Cinema  
Ministry of Public Health  
State Physical Culture and Sports Commission  
State Family Planning Commission

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Appendix 3

Party Cadre Ranks

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Central Office</u>	<u>Local Office</u>
1	Politburo Standing Committee; General Secretary; chairman, CAC; chairman, CMC; first secretary, CDIC	
2/3	Central Secretariat; vice chairmen, CMC; vice chairmen, CAC; second secretary, CDIC	
3/4	Central Committee department heads; secretary general and deputy secretaries general, CMC	provincial secretary
5/6	deputy heads and secretary general, CCP Central Committee departments	provincial secretary; deputy secretaries
7/8	heads of offices and bureaus of CC departments	deputy secretaries and secretary general of provincial committees; secretaries of party committees of provincial capitals; department heads and party secre- taries, provincial party committee; prefectoral and municipal party secretaries
9/10	deputy heads of offices and bureaus; heads of divisions of CC departments	deputy secretaries, provincial capital committees; provincial party department heads; party secretaries, pro- vincial commissions, offices, bureaus, and departments; prefectoral deputy party secretaries; county party secretaries
11/12	deputy division heads of CC offices and bureaus	party secretaries of provincial bureaus; prefectoral deputy sec- retaries; county secretaries

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Appendix 3 (cont'd)

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Central Office</u>	<u>Local Office</u>
13-16	section heads of divisions	party secretaries, provincial bureaus; prefectural deputy secretaries; county secretaries
17		township secretaries
20		party general branch (brigade) secretary
23		party branch secretary
27-30		rural cadre

Note: This and the following tables of cadre ranks are approximations and may be outdated and somewhat inaccurate. In one of the few public discussions of the ranking of high-level leaders, party General Secretary Hu Yaobang told a Hong Kong journalist in October 1984 that the highest existing rank is grade 3, grades 1 and 2 having been abolished by Mao Zedong in 1954. According to Hu, Hua Guofeng and seven or eight others hold the rank of grade 3, including Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying, Xu Xiangqian, Liu Bocheng, Ulanhu, and Chen Yun. Nie Rongzhen, Peng Zhen, and Li Xiannian may also hold this rank. All other top leaders, according to Hu, were either grade 4 or 5, and Hu revealed that he himself was a grade 5 cadre. Hu also stated that "When I was director of the Organization Department [of the party, during 1977-78], I upgraded [Hua Guofeng's] salary to the third grade," suggesting that such decisions are handled through the Organization Department. Such a decision, however, was probably discussed by the Politburo Standing Committee and was not decided by Hu alone.

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Appendix 4

Government Cadre Ranks

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Central Office</u>	<u>Local Office</u>
1	State Chairman; National People's Congress Chairman; Premier	
2/3	NPC Vice Chairmen; Vice Premiers; State Councilors	
4/5	secretary general, NPC Standing Committee; NPC committee chairmen; ministers and secretary general of State Council	
5-7	NPC deputy secretary general; NPC committee vice chairmen; State Council General Office director; vice ministers	provincial governor; vice governors
7/8	deputy directors of NPC and State Council general offices; assistants to ministers	mayors of provincial capitals; directors of provincial commissions and offices
8-10	directors of NPC offices; directors of general offices and bureaus under ministries	prefectural commissioners; city mayors
11/12	division directors under NPC and State Council bureaus	directors of provincial bureaus; county and township heads
13-18	staff members of sections of NPC and ministries	heads of county bureaus; township heads; provincial and prefectural staff members; county section heads
19-21		county section staff
22	clerks	
23		brigade leaders; provincial, prefectural clerks

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Appendix 4 (cont'd)

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Central Office</u>	<u>Local Office</u>
24/25		county clerks
26-30		rural cadres

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Appendix 5

Military Cadre Ranks

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Positions</u>	<u>Approx. Rank</u>
1	Defense Minister	Defense Minister	marshal
2	Front Army	vice minister of Defense; directors of PLA General Departments and National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission; commanders of Air Force and Navy; commandants of major military academies	
3	Deputy	commanders of various arms, Military Regions, and fleets; deputy chief of staff; deputy directors of General Departments; deputy commanders of Air Force and Navy	general, admiral; lt. gen.; vice adm.
4	Group Army	directors of General Departments sub-depts; deputy commanders of regions and arms	lt. gen.
5	Deputy Group Army	arms and regions chiefs of staff; fleet deputy commanders	lt. gen.; maj. gen.
6	Sub-Group	Military District commander; regional military academy commandants; regional Air Force commanders	maj. gen.
7	Army	Army commanders; Air Army commanders; Navy flotilla commanders	maj. gen.; rear adm.
8	Deputy Army	deputy commanders of grade 7	maj. gen.; senior col.

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Appendix 5 (cont'd)

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Positions</u>	<u>Approx. Rank</u>
9	Sub-Army	chiefs of staff and Political Department directors of grade 8	senior col.
10	Division	division commanders and equivalent	senior col.
11	Deputy Division	division deputy commanders and equivalent	col.
12	Sub-Division	division chiefs of staff and equivalent	lt. col.
13	Regiment	Regimental commanders and equivalent	lt. col.
14	Deputy Regiment	deputy commanders of grade 13	maj.
15	Sub-Regiment	chiefs of staff of grade 14	maj.
16	Battalion	battalion commanders and equivalent	maj.; senior capt.
17/18	Deputy Battalion	battalion deputy commanders and equivalent	senior capt.; capt.
19	Company	company commanders and eqivalent	capt.; 1st lt.
20/21	Deputy Company	company deputy com-manders and equivalent	1st lt.; 2nd lt.
22	Platoon	platoon leaders	2nd lt.
23	Deputy Platoon	platoon deputy leaders	warrant officer

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